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imbued with the spirit of the donor and (ideally) compelled to behave as though he owed the owner quasi-filial allegiance. This is a magical action of precisely the kind I envisaged in the introduction to this chapter.

Finally, a transfer of land may be maintained indefinitely as long as, in the donor's view, it has 'virtue', i.e. as long as it mediates the kind of relationship the donor desires. But when the relationship breaks up, for one reason or another, the owner desires to have his land returned to him. This is why 'residual rights' on cash cropping land are so awkward. The modern age, the desire for money, the commitment of productive effort outside the range of the security circle all tend to disrupt the relationships envisaged by the lender of land. Meanwhile, modern political, judicial and administrative institutions have taken over many of the functions of the old-time alliances which were bolstered by land gifts.

I have explained in detail why traditionally the Orokaiva considered land to have 'virtue' as a mediating element in their most intimate alliances. In particular it mediates the bonds between husband and wife, spirits and living, paternal, junior–senior agnates and maternal family, and between an indefinite category of close friends.

Land may also act as a mediating element in a negative exchange between a sorcerer and a person who has aroused the anger of that sorcerer, as happens when the former blights the crops of the latter by placing a curse on the land. In many situations of this sort, events which we would class as metaphysical, physiological or climatological are explained as arising out of social exchange. Such beliefs tend to increase the importance attached to the maintenance of satisfactory social exchange relations because the averting of misfortune in the metaphysical, physiological and climatological realms is made conditional upon successful social relations.

The prosperity and opulence of the land thus becomes a measure of its owner's moral and spiritual wellbeing and the amity with which he is regarded by his fellow men. A good man is a good gardener: a good gardener is a good man. This equation is not arrived at by the Orokaiva with the aid of some Frazerian notion of contagion, but on the assumption that the good man has good exchange relations: therefore nobody would wish to harm his garden; therefore the garden must necessarily be in perfect condition. In this as in many other instances exchange is used as the *explicans* of what might well be explained in many other ways. It is because of such gratuitous use of exchange as *explicans* that I am inclined to regard it as a key concept in Orokaiva philosophy.

REFERENCES

1. I am using the term 'transcendental' in the sense of Schutz 1967 who demonstrates the transcendental expenses arising in social relationships.
2. For the location of Garombi, see Fig. 10.
3. These growers held certificates of title issued by the Higaturu Local Government Council, but these certificates have no legal force. I shall discuss in the next section of this chapter the pressures by which the Orokaiva are gradually being induced to establish sole titles.
4. Money as the means of salvation is a theme of many millennial cults, as is argued in detail by Burridge 1969 (*passim*, but see especially pp. 41–6).

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then takes up a position behind the initiate while the *aguma*, standing in front of him, teases him by pretending to offer him the *otohu*. When the initiate stretches out to receive it, the *aguma* snatches it back again. It is tossed over the initiate's head to the man behind him, or to spectators or from one spectator to another. Williams reports:

> It is properly at this stage, while the initiate is waiting to receive his ornament, that the *aguma* lays upon him certain injunctions of an ethical character. These are always associated with the *otohu* and, as we shall see, they throw some light on the obscure meaning of the word. As he proffers and withdraws the ornament, the officiating *aguma* exhorts the candidate to refrain from thieving, from adultery, from quarrelling and from such lawless acts as killing a neighbour's dog. (1930: 191)

After describing the ceremony of presentation, Williams turns to the explanation of the word *otohu*. *Otohu*, he says, tend to be regarded as rather beautiful objects but embody a social distinction as well. The wearing of an *otohu* 'implies that the owner has paid a pig (if he acquired it in adulthood), or that it has been paid on his behalf, and thus the ornament has been formally and regularly acquired' (*ibid*. 203). Sometimes the *otohu* is acquired in return for the body of a man, rather than a pig, but Williams finds (unlike Beaver 1920)

> no very essential difference between the 'pig *otohu*' and the 'man *otohu*'. They are of the same nature, but one is bought with the body of a pig and the other with that of a human victim. . . .
> It would appear that the homicidal *otohu* or *esa* was less an *insigne* conferred, *honoris causa*, upon the man-killer as such, than an ordinary *otohu* purchased with the body of his victim. (*ibid.*)

Williams saw that his theory brought him into conflict not only with Beaver's explanation, but also with apparently obvious implications of the ritual of conferment. Why did the *aguma* always recite his own past killings? Does not this indicate an association between *otohu* and man-slaying?

Instead of elucidating this, Williams turns to interesting data on the usages of the word *otohu*. As an adjective, it means: well-behaved, decent, diligent, generous, respectable, set apart, holy. 'An *otohu* man was he who went about his work quietly, who returned from his garden with wood on his shoulder and set it down, then chewed his betel without "rowing".' There is a direct connection, Williams remarks, between the virtues subsumed under the word *otohu* and the injunctions laid upon the initiate by the *aguma*. He concludes that the possession of an *otohu* creates a social obligation, namely to behave in the manner called *otohu*. As for the derivation of the word, Williams has no suggestions to offer except one interesting point: the Baruga, southern neighbours of the Orokaiva, have a word *kortopo* which is used in the sense of *otohu* but *also* in the sense of *hae*.[3] He wonders whether the *otohu*, 'originally', might have been a clan emblem (*ibid*. 206). In addition he reports, but gives no significance to, the fact that the larger of the two flutes used at initiation ceremonies is called *otohu*. The sacred flutes are always played in pairs by two men facing one another. One of the pair (the *otohu*) is larger than the other, which is called *e* (= mother).

604 789 receives certain essential medicines from his father (e.g. for hunting, for planting taro) but other medicines are acquired during adolescence from the person who performs initiation, i.e. ideally the *epe*. These medicines include: *ba kovari sivo*, a medicine applied to taro leaves when the tubers have filled out and are ready for harvest; *kakara sivo*, a medicine for success in sex; and *saruka*, medicines for killing enemies. Though these presentations are entirely separate from the gift of an *otohu* they do indicate what spiritual capacities a man normally derives from his *epe*; the fact that these include the capacity to kill enemies helps us to understand more easily why killing is so strongly emphasised in the ritual of the bestowal of *otohu*.

881 301 604 Nobody has the *right* to receive an *otohu* nor does anyone have an obligation to confer it. It depends in theory on the *epe's* appraisal of the worth of the young initiand and especially on how the latter has behaved towards his/her *epe*. Has the initiand been co-operative, obedient, well-behaved? The questions are rather similar to those asked by Father Christmas. But, like Father Christmas, the *epe* has a prior commitment: to part with his treasure to *someone*: it is in the nature of the *otohu* to be passed on from generation to generation, and ideally it is passed on in the matriline.

881 301 577 When I asked informants about the significance of *otohu*, their replies were in general very close to what Williams had reported: people respect their *otohu* as the concrete embodiment of the moral virtues they regard as most important in life. When I asked for the reasons for this respect, one informant answered: 'I received this *otohu* from my mother's brother who was a good man. My sister has a son now. I want to give this *otohu* to that boy when he has grown big. [778] *That is what makes it otohu* (=holy).' We should note the emphasis the informant placed on the words 'I want to'. He invoked neither obligation nor 'custom' but rather a sense that his *otohu*, by virtue of its inner nature, was destined to be passed on to another initiate. My informant did not consider this a loss to himself, for he said: 'If I want another one, I can always make myself one.'

729 881 The second ritual actor about whom I obtained additional data was the *aguma*. The rite of tantalising the initiate before giving him his *otohu* continues; the term I was given for this rite among the Sangara was *otohu pasari*, the verb *pasari* being also used for catching fish. I was also told about the *aguma's* recital of his war deeds, but this information came from middle-aged men. When these men were initiated, there were still old warriors who could claim a respectable score of killings, but by now most of these old warriors must have died out [266] among the Orokaiva. Profound changes in male initiation ritual have coincided with the dying out of the genuine old cannibals: one might say that one reason why the institution of initiation has been transformed is the absence of persons with the traditional qualifications of the *aguma*. One difference between the modern 'birthday party' and traditional initiation is the greatly reduced emphasis on killing as a capacity bestowed on the initiand.

729 881 628 [754] *Aguma* were usually not from the same village as the initiands. They were generally invited from a village two or three miles distant. In Sivepe, villages such as Isoge and Kendata were quoted to me as suitable places from which to invite an *aguma*; for Hohorita initiations they might come from Bonge or Koipa. The total list of *aguma*-villages as given to me had a striking resemblance to another

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list which I had collected some time previously, namely the villages to which a person would go if he needed the services of a black magician, in other words, if he wished to apply *saruka* against a fellow villager who had injured him. When I pointed out this coincidence to informants they agreed that indeed they were always the same villages, but insisted there was no connection between *aguma* and *saruka embo*.

It is, however, the task of the anthropologist to explore such coincidences even if informants dismiss them as totally insignificant. In this exploration I was assisted by further facts, not noted by Williams, about the social exchange between the initiate and the *aguma*. Before the latter recites his war deeds, he will hand his limepot to the initiate. He then says something like: 'You are holding my limepot. Therefore promise not to beat your wife.' There are a good number of such vows the initiate must take. They no doubt vary a good deal from place to place, but generally cover a wide range of rules of social exchange, of the same type as are listed by Williams and by Chinnery and Beaver (1915: 76). Later, when the *aguma* offers the *otohu*, he does so *on condition* that the initiate keeps his vows. Persons who violate some rule of social behaviour are likely to be warned by fellow-villagers in terms such as: 'You had better be careful – you held the limepot.'

We thus find that *aguma* and sorcerer have something more in common than their provenance from the same set of villages. They are concerned with two interrelated aspects of social control: the *aguma* obtains certain pledges from a person and the sorcerer punishes that person if he breaks his pledges. It is significant that these guardians of moral values live in places which are on the fringe of the universe of friendly social relations maintained by any village. One may visualise this universe in widening concentric circles moving from friendly villages, to sorcery villages, to usually hostile villages. While the usually hostile villages tended to yield an occasional marriage partner obtained through abduction, the sorcery villages represent the outer limit of the area from which a person would ordinarily obtain wives, and therefore affinal and uterine kin.

It has often been remarked that guardians of moral values tend to be situated on the fringe of the social universe (e.g. see Gluckman 1965: 100–1). In view of what we already know of Orokaiva social relations (see model 20), we would expect that the initiand would normally have no direct significant social relations with his *aguma*. Usually his relations, if any, would be through one or more intermediaries. In the absence of such intermediaries, the initiand would see no reason why he should believe the *aguma's* recital of his war deeds nor his claims to greatness and why he should honour pledges made to a stranger. Williams shows that rude questioning of the *aguma's* authority, by young men in a position analogous to that of the initiand, was a regular part of the ritual (1930: 190). There is, however, a counterpart to these challenges which appears less clearly from Williams' account. I was told it was not enough for the *aguma* to protest his own war deeds; there must also be other war leaders present who will affirm that the *aguma* is speaking the truth. One gathers from Williams' account that there were two of these at the ceremony he attended (p. 189–90). He quotes one *aguma* as saying that these two intermediaries 'remembered his exploits better than he did himself'. The *aguma* then pretended to use these men as prompters. Whatever the two intermediaries were called upon to say or do,

A [See p. 135, Cat. 431--Analyst]

5. *The Message of the Sacred Flutes*

We are now in a position to analyse Williams' data on the *otohu*. Recent theoretical advances in anthropology help us to a fairly easy solution to the problem of the *otohu* by following up a clue Williams threw away as insignificant. Williams was actually very close to the solution I now propose. He recognised that the explanation of the *otohu* is to be found in the ritual of initiation. He also recognised that Chinnery's and Beaver's explanation of initiation, (viz. that it educates by showing initiands the terrifying power of the spirits), 'does not lay sufficient stress on the actual paraphernalia, viz. the bullroarers and flutes, which play a more important part in the ceremony than would appear' (1930: 195). Finally, Williams records (*ibid.*, 185) that in some localities such as Wasida, one of the duet of flutes is actually called *otohu* and the other *e* (= mother). Though this usage is only local, it nevertheless gives us a crucial insight into the significance of the word *otohu*.

Seeing that the Wasida people used the same word for the mental qualities known as *otohu* and the larger and lower-pitched of the pair of sacred flutes, it is useful to inquire whether some symbolic equivalence exists between these mental qualities and these objects. The question falls into two parts. First, we have to explain why there should be any association between a flute and a set of social virtues. Secondly, we have to explain why the flute called *otohu*, which is symbolically equivalent to a set of moral virtues, should be played in antiphony to another flute called *e*. As for the first question, Williams reports that these flutes are never seen but only heard by the uninitiated and that they are regarded as voices of the spirits or *embahi*. The initiated have seen the *embahi* and are allowed to see and play the sacred flutes. They have made the acquaintance of the world of primal ancestors who enunciated and established the moral rules of social behaviour. As children they were taught to obey these rules, but as initiates they have experienced a mystic unity with the deities who established them. The sacred flutes, being voices of the spirits, have communicated these rules in their spiritual essence. Now an *otohu embo* (a man of good character, ibid., p. 205) is a man who lives according to the message he has received from the sacred flutes. The connection between the flutes and the set of social virtues is therefore not difficult to establish.

Secondly, why should the flute called *otohu* be played in antiphony to a flute called *e*? To answer this question let us first recall that according to Williams' own evidence (*ibid.*, 185), the Orokaiva classify one of this pair of flutes – always the larger and lower-pitched one – as masculine and the other as feminine. If the latter is equated to 'mother', then what kinsman is associated with the masculine flute? It seems most plausible that the masculine flute should be symbolically equivalent to the mother's brother, as it is he who acts as initiator of the novice and is thus, on the social level, the mediator between the latter and the spirit world. He teaches the initiand to play the flutes, he gives him medicines which ensure success in adult roles, and finally he presents him with the ornament called *otohu*. The association here is clear enough, but see model 34 on p. 187.[A]

Throughout the Orokaiva world we find the opposition of the male and female principle: between killing and nurture, bush and garden, victim and taro

A [See Category 431--Analyst]

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The mother and mother's brother, being the most harmonious, gentle and affectionate male/female couple known to the Orokaiva, are the most suited for the task of mediating between the fearsome spirit world and the human being. The two initiatory flutes are therefore identifed with them.

How are the *otohu* ornaments connected with (*a*) the moral qualities and (*b*) the flute of the same name? The first part of this question was answered convincingly by Williams, as we have seen. But how are *otohu* ornaments symbolically equivalent to flutes? It is relevant to recall the difference between the two identity symbols *otohu* and *hae*. Ideally, the latter is transmitted in the patriline, the former in the matriline. All other differences (e.g. that the *hae* is attached to the corporate group and the *otohu* to the exchange system) follow from the mode of transmission.

The common characteristic of initiation ceremony, sacred flutes and *otohu* ornaments is that they all ideally derive from uterine kin or, in any case, that they have no necessary connection with the clan. Initiation pries the novice loose from early over-attachment to the clan and confronts him with the more adventurous, less secure world of the exchange system (*mine*). This applies equally to girls and boys. The rigours of this new arena are very effectively dramatised by the *agumu* whose recital emphasises that it is meritorious for the *otohu embo* to kill enemies. The same message is conveyed in a different way by the mother's brother whose role includes the gift of black magic (*saruka*) to his nephew. The ornament, *saruka* and other presentations come to the nephew not of right, but in the form of *mine*, in exchange for help and obedience offered to the mother's brother and gifts made by the novice's family.

The existence of two identity symbols, *hae* and *otohu*, side by side, indicates the strong emphasis placed by Orokaiva culture upon social relationships outside the corporate group. Among the neighbouring Baruga, whose culture closely resembles the Orokaiva, but who are more strongly patrilineal, we find only one identity symbol, the *kotopo*, which serves both as *hae* (lineage emblem) and as *otohu* (honorific ornament). Initiation is here carried out by the clan, introduces the novice to full clan membership, but carries no implications for participation in a wider network.

The *otohu* flute is a voice from the spirit world, mediated through the mother's brother. This voice communicates a certain moral order. The initiand hears the flutes but at that time makes no response. If he is later presented with an *otohu* ornament, he must make pledges. The ornament, as it is thrown back and forth over his head, communicates the same message as the flute but this time the novice responds to the voice. It is thus that he makes the ornament into a symbol of his identity.

6. Otohu *and* Hambo *Compared*

There are many resemblances between *otohu* and other *hambo*. They are made from largely the same materials. They are all, together with *di* (feathers) made accessible to men and women at the time of initiation, as soon as they have seen the *embahi*. Yet there are also many differences both in significance and in transactional custom. First of all, *otohu* may be worn on any important occasion, but *hambo* only during a dance or in other ceremonial contexts.

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killed and eaten and is remembered as the demigod who made these gifts to mankind. When such gifts are made today it would seem that the donor is symbolically sacrificing himself to the recipients. The custom of giving clothes and cooking pots goes back to a myth where a woman is described as living alone and naked and without fire, so that she had to prepare her food by letting the sun burn it. Two men came, gave her a skirt, brought her fire and thus acted as her deliverers. These gifts, far from being 'equivalent' to a woman, are male gifts *for* a woman, and emphasise the blessings of the cultural institution of marriage. On the significance of ornaments as part of a wedding gift I am less certain, but the evidence suggests that they are pledges. They are objects of great magical power, the mere possession of which is thought to demonstrate that their owner adheres to moral principles. The gift of such objects to another party demonstrates that the donor possesses such moral objects, pledges that he will show propriety in his behaviour towards the recipient and enjoins the recipient to do the same for him.

In combination, the *dorobu* gifts convey a clear and appropriate message: the wife-taker acknowledges his indebtedness, emphasises that by taking a woman in marriage he conveys a great blessing upon her and makes pledges which ideally are binding on both parties. Acceptance of these gifts need imply no more than that the wife-givers acquiesce in the *status quo* (which has been established by abduction or elopement). Until the affines make counter gifts, *dorobu* does not even establish social relations between the two sides. This does not happen until the bridegroom's sister has bred and given a pig to him and until the bride's mother has bred and given a pig to her son-in-law. It is only then that a limited commensality between the two sides is established: they have a meal together at which the *imbohi* pretends to eat.

The continuing avoidances and dangers characteristic of Orokaiva affinal relations are all of a kind very familiar in other parts of the world, but the less usual feature is that joking relations, coldness and deliberate social distance can be terminated by the cancellation of the debt through exchange marriage. The strife of 'ordinary' affinal relations is seen as part of a longer cycle which stretches from the sister exchange marriage established as ideal by the ancestors to exchange marriages that remain present as a constant possibility.

9. *Application of the Model to Clan Formation*

The model of marriage exchange as presented here envisages the permanent cyclical recurrence, in the history of any given social group, of restricted and generalised exchange, or – as one might say – of a state of matrimonial amity and strife, unity and division. This model is given additional credibility if we consider some Orokaiva theories about social relations and if we consider the processes of clan formation.

On social philosophy only a very brief reference is appropriate here. The Orokaiva believe that due to actions of their primal ancestors, men are in permanent strife with one another and for that reason dwell apart in separate villages. They express this belief quite explicitly when explaining some of their own myths. I have described above (Chapter III) an Orokaiva myth on the origin

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taro ancestress is usually described as discovering the taro in a lake or other 'round water'. The demigod Totima comes closest to providing a general model of the primeval world of the swidden agriculturist and pig-raiser. Like Prometheus he is a sacrificial figure.[16]

Totoima was at the origin of the feasting institution (though there are other myths of the origin of feasting). It is here that questions of moral values mostly arise as feasting (*ergo* peace making) is the moral act *par excellence*. A direct connection is laid between the virtue of settling conflict and of feasting on the one hand and the fertility and yield of the garden on the other, as enemies are thought to ensorcell the gardens. Another important factor was the 'care' (*simbari*) (a general term covering magical as well as technical aspects) taken of the garden. The eldest male of the extended family, as father of the land, had a special duty as regards *simbari*. Garden magic was, however, made by all married males; they also made gifts to ancestors, who were thought to live in gardens and be reborn from there.

The model of the virtuous man was he who shared out his produce and made feasts (*hande embo*). Such a man would grow a surplus of food in a feasting garden. His power (*ivo*) would be manifest in the abundance of his pigs and taro. The model of the 'active man' would be the organizer of feasts in which the whole village participated (*kiti jigari embo*). Subordinate to him, but still high in reputation, would be experts at sorcery, healing, feather decoration and various forms of hunting, as well as those excelling in debate, rhetoric and diplomacy (*keari embo*).[17]

Identification occurred not only with crops, gods and ancestors, but also with trees harbouring local spirits, plant emblems harbouring lineage ancestors, animal guardians and plant doubles which were kept in the garden (usually surrounded by medicinal herbs) and contained the owner's life spirit, or perhaps name-spirit for the man bore the plant's name. A more complex aspect of identification with pigs and feast gardens is that such produce is destined to be given away, i.e. the owner expects to lose control over it; yet the donor remains identified with it and it calls for a return.[18] The same is true for the range of manufactures (clothes, pots, ornaments) that change hands at feasts.

The pattern described here is characteristic of what Sahlins (1974) called the domestic mode of production. Such a system produces, in his opinion, nothing but use values, even if they are 'exchanged' at feasts, for such 'exchange' is symbolically equivalent to a temporary extension of commensality. Slightly more complex

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121 13. This method of setting up semiotic domains for study is probably due to Lévi-Strauss, long before it became canonized as part of the science of semiotics (Eco 1972). See also Schwimmer (1977a), for an Orokaiva example.

14. The term 'manager' instead of the tedious 'big man' is due to Burridge (1969) and is heartily recommended to practitioners.

114 15. I briefly analyzed Williams' Kutubu study (Williams 1976), but missed the full implications of the myth cycle reported by Williams. A reanalysis of that work, with full use of the myths, is overdue.

16. See for a first analysis Schwimmer (1973), later supplemented by Schwimmer (1974a) (coconut, areca and taro) and (1979a) (pigs).

554 17. A discussion of work specialization among Orokaiva (of which there is
●577 but little) will be found in Schwimmer (1967). An interesting type of
305 specialist not so far described is the expert body decorator (Schwimmer 1973: 177, 185) to whom the ritual payment of a pig is due when he officiates, and who appears to officiate regularly at initiations.

114 18. For a full discussion of the concepts involved see Schwimmer (1979a).

19. The text: "*Umo meni ingesoa, eti atimbasoa, i umbasoa, umo timbasoa;*
773 *donda deire tapa amo aisi oa eto tunga osaga umbasoa.' Ainge ena.*
177 *Ainge ivu ta ena: 'Adam, umo ainge hogoro umbasoa, andage aisi oa*
539 *eto i gaipi oa, pure firembasi oa; iji vevere tunga osago hamo memega re tapa pure gaiha aisi oa.' Ainge ena. Ainge eto ikena avo embo Eave te Adam te ainge ena: 'Ainge dombo dago tapa endata emo ainge do aisi uje eagora: pure te deire amo tapa hamo memega te tunga osaga te tapa pamone ainge ga earora, dago embo ainge hamo memega te tunga osaga te tapa pure gaiha avo earora. Eto donda matu runuga ena avo indie traetera avo. Aravorate, ungo kiaekiae eto God na taekena avo umbuto india. Aravo embo eto avo God ena: 'Avo iji koso ami tunga osaga iji tunga osaga aisi ova, ainge tunga javatoho iji amo tunga javatoho aisi ova.' Ainge ena. Avo embo dago tapa emo oroho emite ue irora."* Robert, Sivepe, 1966.

694 20. The text: "*Embo handa piriti embo na punduto umbuto, sokova ari ke*
754 *eto umbuto, Kokoda pambuo, koto ea, aramiko pure mo aravora."* Councillor Colin, Tórogota, 1966. After describing a number of devices used by magicians and miracles they wrought, Colin continued: "*Avo da piriti embo na samani eo pambuto re koto ea, amiko donda aravo porakau aravo pure puruna."* Translation: Police handcuffed village people and took them to Kokoda if they were believed to be telling lies. Court was held; then they would start work . . . When a summons was issued by the policeman, then those magic things would be put to work.

245 21. At the time the Waddell and Krinks study was done, only the younger men grew coffee; the authors therefore saw a correlation between age and coffee growing. During my restudy I found this correlation to be false, first because it did not apply to the clan omitted from the earlier authors' chosen sample, and secondly because the oldest men they studied began to grow coffee shortly after their departure. The substitution of German taro (*xantosoma* sp.) for classical taro (*colocasia* sp.)